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252 A rudimentary way of preparing corn, but also little valued, consists of boiling the kernels in water for a long time until they have become soft (atiruru) (3).

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3. Atiruru is a dish whose consumption is intimately associated with the observance of magico-religious prohibitions. It is the only permissible nourishment for girls when they have their first menstrual periods, for people in mourning, and for women for a period of ten days after giving birth (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 14).

252 /358/ The Chiriguano make a broth with corn flour (api)
262 and meat, which is not bad.

They do not use haphazardly the 11 varieties of corn which they cultivate. Each, according to its properties, is intended for the preparation of a definite dish. Yellow corn (avati-hendi-vaé or avati-iyu-vaé) serves for making chicha or corn beer; white corn (avati-ndi) is roasted, as is avati-kanana. The corn called katiintí, or crinkled corn, is generally roasted, as are avati-tïore and avati-saimpini (gray corn), which are intended to be roasted and made into flour.

262 Avati-rai, or small corn, is planted only in times of scarcity when the harvest has been bad. Of small stature, it yields only one ear of reduced size, but has the advantage of growing fast (Nino, pp. 241-242).

A Chiriguano's meal in normal times is not made up exclusively of corn, even if this grain figures in all his menus. The popularity which corn has is also shared by beans, or kumanda. The Chiriguano cultivate 11 varieties of them also.

The Chiriguano eat beans either dry or fresh. In the
[252 latter case they are cooked in the pod in water or under ashes.
263] Beans boiled in the pod are seasoned with pimento. Then one has the dish called sopiriwa.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chane SF8

Chieftainship was inherited in the male line, but the title was bestowed on a chief's son only if he were worthy of it. There are only a very few cases of women ruling a *Chiriguano* group, but the *Chané* remembered the names of several women leaders. According to a genealogy of a *Chané* chiefly family recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 229), power was inherited successively by the brothers and sisters of a deceased chief before it passed to his son. In the village visited by Nordenskiöld, the brother's son of the chieftainess was the actual ruler, but her son by a commoner was the heir apparent. This system of succession is probably the same as the one prevailing among the eastern *Chané* (*Guaraó*).

Chiriguano chiefs of the past wore conspicuous ornaments and were entitled to carry the yanduwa, a pole with a bunch of feathers tied at the end, and a carved stick.

Property.—A plot that had once been cultivated by a man belonged to him and to his descendants, but could not be alienated by him. In order to insure new ownership rights, a *Chiriguano* would plant a few pumpkins on the land which he intended to clear.

Justice.—Thieves were expelled from the community or sometimes were flogged. A man convicted of adultery could lose his property. Murderers were sent into exile, unless the victim's family had time to kill him first. Wronged individuals often took justice into their own hands and challenged the offender to a duel. The settlement of old accounts occurred generally during drinking bouts.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—Soon after childbirth, the mother went to the river to wash and smear herself with urucú. Both parents observed various food taboos. The father rested for a few days on his bed and refrained from any work, lest he harm the baby. One twin, as well as any malformed infant, was killed (Campana, 1902, p. 72).

Puberty.—Menstrual flow was attributed to the bite of a mysterious serpent. At her first menses a girl was hoisted in her hammock to the roof of the hut, where she was compelled to stay for 5 days without uttering a word. Then she remained for a month or more enclosed in a corner of the hut. Her hair was clipped short, and she was put on a diet of boiled maize. During her seclusion, she spun and wove wool and cotton so that she would be diligent for the rest of her life. Meanwhile, she became pallid, which was greatly admired when she returned to normal life. Henceforth, she used the affirmative "é, é" instead of the childish "ú, ú."

In ancient times, the confinement of a pubescent girl lasted for several months or even for a year[1] (Campana, 1902, p. 86).

[1] According to Father Chané (1819 b, p. 202), the pubescent girl was hoisted in her hammock near the roof. During the second month, the hammock was lowered, but the confinement ended only in the third month, when a group of old women entered the hut with sticks to start a symbolic hunt for the serpent that had bitten the girl.

4s Nino--162 M-3 (1890-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/117 cont./

829 clothing in payment for the service. Let the reader imagine
799 how the poor father, who had nothing, felt when he heard
177 such a petition (1)!

1. Corrado, Historia de las Misiones del Colegio Apostólico de Tarija.

Vices and Their Consequences

883 It seems to be and is an unfortunate truth that in this
842 tribe, once so numerous, there is no lack of coquettish girls, who, if they restrained themselves from flirting any more, would not be so bad. The unfortunate thing is that these poor girls, in order to enjoy mundane pleasures and drink to the depths the dregs of corruption, or also in order not to have the nuisance of nursing children and training
[756] them, have recourse to a very simple thing. They consult
[278] the old women who bear the name of sorcerers, and these
[885] show them the remedy, which consists of a drink that they extract from certain plants or herbs which almost all the Chiriguano women and Indian sorcerers know wonderfully well.

/118/ These unfortunate girls, usually orphans, once the
883 period of puberty is over, drink this venomous beverage,
786 suffer a great deal, if indeed they do not die, and are
• [881] sterilized, and they then give themselves up to orgies at
[942] the time of general drinking, which is the most terrible thing that you can imagine, because at them morality is offended by words and very licentious stories, by raucous laughter and giggling by men and women, by their glances, and finally by their acts, although these take place at a
797 suitable distance from the said gathering.

/216/

Chapter Nine

881

Children, Puberty, the Tembeta (1)

1. This will deal with the puberty of the girls and the imposition of the tembeta for boys, which is carried out a little before their puberty, so that when this does appear they will have the mark of manhood.

Introduction

797 533 [126] At the beginning of this chapter /see p. 294/ my readers will see a small band of young, luxuriously uniformed musicians with a Franciscan missionary at their side. These are the musicians of San Buenaventura de Ivu, whose photograph was taken on the pastoral visit made by the renowned and wise Delegate General M. R. P. Wolfgango Privaser, illustrious and glorious in the seraphic religion, on the 23rd day of September, 1908. His secretary, the intelligent Father Angel Domáica, was the one who was charged with taking this group and the others in the Potosí and Tarija missions.

[648] All the musicians are Chiriguano boys whose fathers were in the 1892 uprising in the fields of Curuyuqui, half a league away from what is today the mission building, which at that time did not exist. They are the sons of fathers who all wear the tembeta and of mothers who in their puberty underwent the strict tests which I shall relate in this chapter.

175 648 Their fathers declared war to the death, not on the Cross, but on the white, be he Christian or not, because he saw in him a tyrant and hangman, and he wished to cast off the yoke by destroying the one whom he considered its maker. But it is certain that the Indian in his hate and rancor, which he has consistently maintained /illustration appears here/ /217/ against the caray /white man/, did not know how to make a categorical distinction, because not all have bad hearts. If there are some bad ones, real executioners of humanity, there are also very good and compassionate ones, from whom they received and still receive favors.

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The Giving of the Name and Puberty

The giving of the name is done when the boy or little girl begins to understand and articulate words, so that by repetition it may be impressed on their memory and they may know what their name is. Generally, grandmothers in the case of girls and grandfathers in the case of boys have the privilege of giving the name, and they do this by noting some physical peculiarity of the little boys and girls, such as Tesapona, pretty eyes, Saanti, white eyes, Cuñanti, white woman. But sometimes no peculiarity is noted, and they baptize them with the name of parts of the body of animals, such as Yaguacupe, jaguar spine, Tatunai, armadillo tooth, Yaguaracu, jaguar fever. Generally, women's names end in Iru, that is, vessel or receptacle. Thus, for the Chiriguano a woman is something born and destined to serve him as he thinks best (2).

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2. Only Catholicism, brought by the Redeemer and preached by the apostles, reinstates woman; where it has not penetrated, she remains a slave, as in Africa and in other places on the globe.

• 881

For children of both sexes a critical period approaches, the period of puberty, which in many is precocious and which normally occurs at the age of 11 or 12. The life or death of the Chiriguano, his future well-being or misfortunes, depend on this critical period. If all the prescriptions engraved on the minds of the family fathers are observed by those who reach that age, all the rest of their lives will be a delight, and, if not, every kind of calamity will overcome them.

When the maiden shows the first symptoms of puberty, Yimundía, her parents make her rest for a few days until what many out of modesty call sickness, Mbaerasi, goes away. Then she is put in a hammock or something similar, and, lying down on it like a body without a soul, she is

881 raised to the ceiling. They leave her there for a period of
[785] four days in strict fasting and, of course, without her opening her mouth to speak to anybody, not even to ask for necessary things, because if she should talk or ask for anything, misfortune would appear at once.

At the end of this first test, which the maiden has scarcely felt, they lower her on the fifth day, wash her head with potash of Ñetira, and shave off the adolescent girl's hair. Meanwhile in a corner of the house far from the door, they have prepared a wall like a corner piece, made out of slender sticks a meter and 50 centimeters high more or less.
[785] Wrapped in her tipoi or clean clothing, the unfortunate girl goes there, into her pen, and begins her strict fast, which they call Yicuacu, or hiding (1).

1. This rigorous way of life does not seem at all strange to the maidens, because before it comes their mothers have prepared them for it, and they believe in everything with blind faith.

The girl remains in her enclosure for a week without doing anything, with face to the wall in order not to see or talk to
[262] anybody. Her usual fare is boiled maize, Atiruru. Sometimes she also eats meat if there is any, but in very small quantities. She neither tastes nor desires other foods. Were she to eat parched maize, she would not be good at feeding her children when she has them, because her breasts would be
[271] dry all her life. Her usual beverage should be natural clear
[273] water. Were she to drink chicha, she would be barren, be-
[842] cause it contains alcohol and acridness, which would stop the effects of conception during her marriage.

881 When the week is over, the fasting continues, but less
868 harshly; her parents have obtained cotton or wool, have
867 prepared the spindle and wheel, with the little potsherd in
283 which they put a few ashes or sand so that the spindle will turn more easily. The mother hands over all this to her daughter, who begins to work and learns that she has been born for work.

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881 868 867 283 The young girl receives her mother's injunctions without uttering a word, without making any comment, respects the advice and admonishments in the same silence and more than that of a mute, because she hears and keeps quiet without making any movement at all, without raising her eyes or moving her head. She begins her work as soon as her mother withdraws; she combs the wool or cotton with her fingers, cleans it of /224/ whatever dirt it may contain, and begins to spin, a duty learned from early childhood (1).

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1. The maiden who fasts can only work in the place where she is enclosed; therefore she cannot help her mother even to clean the house.

881 868 867 286 When her mother sees that she has enough to make some small article, she directs the weaving, and the first thing that is made is the Hapicuana for her father and then another for her mother, with which they are very happy, and even their friends congratulate them on the work of the daughter, for whom they, of course, profess sympathy and respect as a sacred person, because she is in the period of fasting or hiding, since both things are done when these maidens reach puberty (2).

2. The same word, Yicuacu, is used for the fasts ordered by the Church for neophytes. There is no other word in the language.

881 885 During the first month or first moon, Yasi, the seclusion or hiding is the most rigorous, because the symptoms of puberty should manifest themselves two times in order that they may be considered true ones, that is to say, the Chiriguano do not believe that a woman is ready for marriage until after it has been ascertained that her menstruation is regular. This, which for women is their relief and their health, is called Hugũi in adults, but for pubescent girls the first as well as the second is called, as I have already said, Yimundía.

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881 885 After this neither the fasting nor the hiding or seclusion are so rigorous, and occasionally the maiden, who is now a woman, comes out of her pen into public life, returns to domestic chores, and begins to attend the drinking sessions in order to be seen and to catch the attention of the young men. An occasional one will do this, but the majority, taking their parents' advice, persist and continue fasting until their hair grows out again, even to the shoulders, and others persist for a year without coming out into the light, with the result that many of them become quite pale like alabaster, and, like people with light-blue eyes, when they come out into the light they see very little. But with the whiteness of their skin, their smooth and shiny hair, and their blue eyes, with their ornaments of necklaces and bracelets, and the achiote cosmetics which they charmingly have had put on their cheeks and brows by their older companions, they inspire the admiration of all the people who have congregated (3). /Illustration appears here./

3. The reader will easily understand that to come out of seclusion is like a wife who comes out of her house to move into that of her husband; for this reason one comes out highly adorned.

881 867 /225/ During the fasting and seclusion, the maiden does not go out by day; her going out is done at night, not for diversion, but only for what is absolutely necessary, and this is generally done very early, before daybreak, so that she may get used to not being lazy, so that she may know that she ought to be very diligent, to avoid being deceived by sleep, because the one who is to be her companion for life is accustomed to eating early, before going to the field or the forest. For this reason a woman must be an early riser in order to prepare what is necessary for herself, for her husband, and for her children, who also ask for food soon after awakening.

[text continues on p. 306]

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881 867 593 When she goes out at night, her mother accompanies her, but before this is done she receives a thousand pieces of advice and admonishment to walk slowly and very carefully, not to step on things that might injure her, such as excrement and other things that her enemies or evil spirits have scattered around the house, especially by the door and along the path which she must follow. The maiden listens and keeps quiet, absorbs everything, and does everything as well as or better than a Carthusian novice, because her mother has already filled her head with so many superstitions and has frightened her with too many dangers.

The father rarely concerns himself with his daughter during the fasting period; he only sees to it that she does not lack food and work. He rarely talks to her, but he loves her like [574] his own eyes and soul. Other persons cannot address her, nor do her parents permit many and prolonged visits during that period; in addition everyone also knows that that house is now sacred and abstains as much as possible from frequenting it (1).

1. When an attempt was made to reorganize the S. Antonio Mission of Parapiti, the daughter of a prestigious Indian was keeping a strict fast. It was said of her that she could die, it was so strict. Hardly anyone could see her, and the poor girl in fact did die a short time later.

885 195 When the seclusion period decided on by her parents ends, the girl puts away her clothing of what we might call penitence, washes her face, combs her hair, now grown out, adorns her cheeks with the help of her friends, adorns her neck and throat with necklaces of beads, reales, or medios of silver, puts bracelets on her wrists, rings on her fingers, puts on her tipoi of drill or chintz, in various colors, and goes out in public in order that thus decked out she will arouse admiration and some young man may fall in love with her and ask for her to be his wife when it seems appropriate to him, because now she is no longer a child, but a woman who can carry out

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885 195 her duties /226/ serve her companion in whatever he may wish, and henceforth in her answers she ceases to use the ú ú which children use and adopts the é é suitable for women.

885 571 The young woman, in spite of being scarcely 13 years old when she comes out into public life, and despite a slight embarrassment which she feels when first presented to society as a woman ready and suitable for marriage, little by little begins to lose this misgiving, very natural in girls, and acquires frankness in answering quite clearly persons who may question her, whoever it may be, always staying within the limits of morality. What is immoral will cause astonishment in her and perhaps embarrassment at the beginning, but she soon becomes accustomed to it, because she hears it in the house, she hears it at the drinking bouts, during the gatherings and parties. From hearing a lot of this, it begins to cause pleasure in her, which brings on a continual and loud laughter, since day or night the women laugh long and loud. This is usually a sure sign that in a gathering or party there is some gallant present who is giving free rein to his tongue (1).

1. Missionaries who know the language of the Indians and who find themselves at the beginning in a new mission may be astonished by the frankness with which boys and girls of 12 or 13 years answer them.

[827] The men state that their wives are better at enduring hunger and thirst. They attribute this to the strict fasting which they undergo at puberty, but the women say that the neophytes are stronger than they, because they go out sooner after giving birth.

●881 178 In none of the missions do the maidens follow the custom of their mothers at the time of puberty. When the first signs appear, the only thing conceded to them is some three days leave for rest, and so that her mother may tell her, as should be done in analogous circumstances, to hide what must be hidden. When this short leave ends, they return to school as before, and continue their work without any inconvenience (2).

2. Many of these maidens, out of modesty,

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881 198 do not advise anyone of their puberty, even their mothers, and the consequences are sad in no few cases. They do not tell anyone because the older girls make fun of them.

163 582 A single thing is noted in the missions, and it is that the neophytes, when they get to the age of about 35, stop having children. Perhaps this is because they marry very young, at about 16 to 20 at the latest. If it is true that the Chiriguano 581 women of old were ready for marriage /227/ as soon as they came out of their hiding or fasting, the union which they contracted was certainly neither continuous nor for life with the same person. One or two months with one, then a rest until giving birth, afterwards again joining the same man, or perhaps she would seek out another if the first had become bored 790 with her or she with him. But this does not happen in the 581 missions; those who contract marriage do it for life, because it is a Catholic union and, as such, indissoluble, just as the natural marriage of the infidels would be, but the Chiriguano does not understand this, since in principle he wishes to be a hummingbird, coming to rest on many flowers and not stopping at any of them until he reaches a certain age.

881 785 184 In the districts where the fasting lasted for a year, such as in Cuevo, before the town of San Juan Bautista and the Santa Rosa Mission were founded, after the first rigorous month the maidens were made to eat meat and beans also, and they were even allowed to drink a little mild chicha, so that they would not become too weak or die. If the chicha had turned sour, it would be prejudicial for later married life, producing the effects of which I have already spoken.

881 198 197 Finally, to conclude such a delicate subject, let it be noted that at the present time the custom of such a rigorous fast for the female sex is observed in very few places; today the region is inhabited by the white race, which is making them understand that all this is superstition, because of the example of their daughters, who, in spite of the fact that they have done nothing of what has been said, live in perfect

/227 cont./
881 health, contract marriage, serve their husbands very efficiently,
178 and educate their children, who are born with all the perfection
177 of nature (1).

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1. In the Chiriguano region, even in that part won by the missionaries of Potosí after the year 1870, many maidens of the white race have contracted marriage, having reached a suitable age.

Imposition of the Tembeta

855 The education of the boy, as has already been seen, is the task of both parents. Up to a certain age it is almost exclusively that of the mother, and after the age of six or seven years, exclusively that of the father, who accustoms him to field chores, to hunting, and even to fishing in the areas where
226 there are large rivers. Fishing is done by the women in the
462 little streams, and the men assist them in the diversion of the water and setting up two boundaries in the form of a \/, open to allow the water to pass through, a job they call Parirenta.

881 /228/ The time now comes for the boy to be a man and
[195] not a boy, the time to give up the ú ú of his affirmative answers and to adopt the Ta suitable for the Cuimbae, or man
[304] ready for everything. His father, his grandfather, his mother,
[301] and other relatives make him understand that for this it is
[885] necessary that he show his companions the distinctive mark of
[554] the tribe, that is to say, it is necessary to have his lower lip, Tembe, pierced and to place in the hole the Tembeta, which for the Chiriguano is a sign of his manliness (1).

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1. The tembeta is a word made up of tembe, lower lip, and ta or ita, stone, which literally translated, means stone for the lower lip, where it is put.

/229 cont./

881 304 [821] For the piercing of the lip, a full moon is necessary, so that the open wound will not have bad results, will gradually get larger, and will not form a swelling. The boys who are ready for the tembeta must not be younger than seven years of age or older than 12. In the first case they would not be able to stand the pain, and in the second the piercing would be difficult because the lip would have hardened.

Thus, when the moon is at its maximum and the boy is of the proper age, he little by little becomes prepared for the operation. The mother and father prepare him with loving words, stimulating his vanity so that he may afterward be esteemed and loved by the girls. Then they make him understand the need for piercing his lip, so that everyone will know [186] [885] that he belongs to the noble Chiriguano race and is worthy of being a member of it; finally, they make him understand that only when he has the tembeta will the grandees of the nation respect him and treat him kindly (1).

[869] [171]

1. Christian mothers, to encourage their sons to endure suffering and even martyrdom itself, show them Heaven, an invisible dwelling place. The savage infidels encourage their children with earthly promises, such as the love of women; qui de terra est; de terra loquitur; this is the effect of ignorance.

The boy hears the nice things that his parents say to him as a deaf man hears music. What he considers more and what occupies all his concern is the pain that the opening of his lip is going to cause him. Nevertheless, he cannot hide or run away; he must submit to the operation in spite of his fear of it. In fact, before the full moon the father goes with his son to the house of the surgeon and tells him the reason for his visit, asking him to make his boy into a man. The surgeon-doctor makes an appointment for the next day or another one, and in the meantime he looks for a second boy to undergo the

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304 759 ●881 same operation, because he never takes one alone. There must always be two, four, six, eight, or ten (2).

[801] 2. In a town of 30 or 40 families there was usually never any lack of boys of the same age. The number of the boys to be pierced should never be an odd number; superstition and nothing else.

304 881 [785] [114] The boys appear for the operation on the designated day, led by their fathers and mothers. Meanwhile, other curious persons gather there, men, women, boys, and girls, to see and /230/ attend this solemn act, which, as I have learned, is not preceded by any day of fasting; thus what certain writers have said in this regard is wrong, as is the rest that refers to the person who does the operation, for whom the qualification of being an Ipaye, sorcerer, is not required for the imposition of the tembeta.

Before beginning the operation the surgeon authoritatively addresses those who are to be men, telling them to be valiant and strong in their pain, without letting their moans be heard or crying, because these are not the signs of a brave man, of a man who wears the tembeta, which is the sign of virility, of [195] a man who must be able to face the dangers of war. Finally, he orders them that it is time to give up the ú, ú in their answers, and in its place he orders them to replace it with Ta.

When this brief and eloquent discourse is over, the first boy stretches out on the ground or on a cot, and in order to give himself courage he says in a vibrant voice, Che rani tayicutuca, may I be the first to be pierced, words which are greeted by the gathering with jubilation and at the same time with wonder, since they already know the pain that he is going to suffer (1).

[195] [193] 1. The Chiriguano Indian also uses the imperative to order himself, that is to say, his verbs still have the first person of the imperative mood, which indicates considerable arrogance.

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304 881 [804] Then the one doing the operation looks among his implements for the string with which he takes the exact measurements so that the hole will be in the middle and above the chin. Then he prepares the Guasupirasa, which literally means: 304 413 881 [114] piercer of the cured skin of pygmy deer. Certain writers have believed that the guasupirasa is a pygmy-deer horn on the basis of the name guasu, with which the name of the article begins, but it is a mistake. The guasupirasa is a round piece of iron of the size of a costalera needle, which they call Yargüi in Quichua /Quechua/ (2).

> 2. If it were a slender deer-horn, it would be liable to break, and if it were slightly sharpened the hole would be very large and it would be difficult to hold the first tembeta, which should be small. There would be many other problems, which are avoided with the slender and strong iron.

304 881 As I have said, he takes the appropriate measurements with a string; he puts his hand on his guasupirasa, and upon seeing this the mother is frightened and weeps in silence, and the other people shrink back. Finally, utilizing the services of another practitioner, he has him press very strongly with the index fingers of both hands at the edges of the temples, at the point where the ears are attached, and when he is sure /231/ that the boy keenly feels the pain that the assistant's fingers cause in his ears he quickly and deftly inserts the well-sharpened iron, and the hole is made with considerable skill, the Guasupirasa passing up to the tip of the nose.

He at once puts a hollow little tube of tin on the iron and lowers it little by little in order to pull it out of the pierced lip, where instead there remains in place the little tube, which sticks out a little on both sides of the lip. In [301] Chiriguano this tube is called Tembetandi, or white tembeta.

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881 304 [828] In general, with the method of pressing strongly on the patient's temples, the one performing the operation manages it so that the patient feels little or nothing of the pain of the piercing, according to what they say, and it is probable, because one sharp pain diminishes or makes another one feel less strong. But it is also certain that the boy, seeing himself before so many spectators and girls, makes every effort not to cry out or weep, because the Indians do not deny that many somewhat cowardly ones do shout and even cry a little (1).

1. Some boys, very fearful, when their fathers begin to talk to them about the tembeta and the need to have the hole made, run off to another tribe in the presence of their relatives, but the latter persuade them, and they return to their town.

I have asked more than one Indian and all agree in asserting that not a drop of blood comes from the hole. The day on which the imposition of the tembeta is done is a day of strict fasting, and they do not even let them drink a little chicha; other foods cannot be chewed by them for several days either. On some, somewhat careless ones, there is a swelling, and on others not. The swelling of the lip is avoided, according to them, by heating the leaves of the bush Urucuna in the flame or embers of the fire and applying them continually around the hole. The cicatrization of the lip may take a month, during which time the little Chiriguano stays at home, letting himself be seen in the streets and in the plaza once in a while (2).

[785] [784] [757] [824] 881

[759]

2. For a Chiriguano it is a great honor to put the tembeta in place on the boys, so that he asks nothing for this honorable operation; but the boy's parents make some small gift, which he receives with satisfaction.

/231 cont./

304 881 [824] Meanwhile the one who performed the operation now gives final admonishments to the boy, and he, following all of these instructions and those of his father, keeps the little tube in continual motion so that it will not stick to the flesh, and on the days that follow he begins to put around it little twigs /232/ from the bush called Yacurimbíu, food of the turkeys. When it has healed, he will cut a larger stick from the same bush and put it in alone, removing the tembetandi, and continue enlarging the hole this way little by little until he can put in a tembeta of hollow cane, which also goes on taking on larger dimensions until it seems big enough. Then he buys a de luxe tembeta and he puts it in, never to remove it again, either day or night, since it would be a great embarrassment for a Chiriguano to appear in public without his tembeta (1).

1. If the Chiriguano were to be without his tembeta while asleep, saliva would run out, because the hole is rather large in most of them.

301 [326] [439] [177] The hollow-cane tembetas are made by every Chiriguano, while those of wood and tin are made by craftsmen. In spite of there not being any blacksmiths or tinsmiths among them and as neither tin or lead nor anything similar is available, the result is that the material for making them is brought from other parts, being bought from the whites, with whom they have maintained relations since the beginning of Tarija, out of which region the Chiriguano were expelled.

301 171

The Tembeta in Other Tribes

The use of the tembeta may be another argument for the unity of the human race; indubitably the Chiriguano use it as a tradition passed on from father to son, and thus successively up to our times. The tembeta is found in use by savage tribes almost throughout the world; in Africa the Noers /Nuer/ and

/210 cont./

When a girl has her first menstruation, she is put in a compartment in the hut, a sort of closet. Her hair is cut short, and she may not come out until it has grown medium long again. Accompanied by her mother she may go out and attend to her needs, for example, bathe, etc. Between the first and second menstruation she must stay on a diet. She may eat cooked maize and meal. The Chané call this custom "yimundia."

In a Chané village, Aguaráti, I saw a girl who was sitting in such a closet. She was spinning. I peered into the closet, which was probably wrong of me, for on the next day girl and closet had disappeared.

P. Chomé (1) already mentions this custom in connection with the Chiriguano. He says the Indians believe a snake has bitten the girl.

1. P. Chomé, p. 320. The same priest also speaks of the custom of the couvade among these Indians, p. 321. Lettres édifiantes /Edifying Letters/. Vol. XXIV.

When the girl emerges from this imprisonment, she is marriageable.

/211/ When the Chané boy is about 10-12 years old, his lower lip is pierced by a man particularly experienced in this. A small piece of wood is stuck in the hole. The boy must lie down for a day. His grandfather comes and tears deep wounds in his body, so that he will become brave in battle and a capable hunter. In the morning, when it is still quite cold, he takes him to bathe, so that he will become a proper man.

For one day the father may not consume anything, so that the boy will not become loquacious. This shows that the Indians do not like prattlers.

When the boy grows older, he receives in place of the small piece of wood a larger one, and when he becomes a man he may parade around with a large plug, "tembeta," in his lower lip (Fig. 79). This is supposed to be of wood in which pieces of turquoise and chrysocolla are set. Among the Chané and most of the Chiriguano only the old men now have the tembeta.

7: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

seen any Chiriguano using this typical ancient Andean garment. Ponchos of the cloak type, and robes of the kind used by the Chaco Indians, on the other hand, I have seen worn by the Chiriguano men, who put them on against cold and wet. Formerly the Chiriguano men dressed in the »chiripa», which was a rectangular skirt that was fastened in front to a cord tied round the waist, then passed between the legs, and fixed to the cord above the buttocks. One may still see, here and there, some small boy wearing nothing but this primitive garment. On their heads the men often wear a broad, red. turbanlike frontlet (fig. 194), and, when setting out on long marches, they put on their feet sandals, the straps of which bear distinct resemblance to straps on sandals that have been found in ancient graves on Puna de Jujuy.[1]

Fig. 195. Chiriguano boy with long, flowing hair. San Luis. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

The women also possess sandals, but, like the men, generally walk about barefooted. The women's clothing consists of a loose-fitting, tubular garment made of woollen, or cotton, stuff. It is called »tipoy». The upper part of it is pinned together over the shoulders by means of cactus spines or metal pins, in the manner seen in fig. 190, which leaves the arms free, or the garment may be fastened under the armpits in the way the girl in fig. 194 is wearing it.

Nowadays the men mostly wear their hair bobbed, and with a frontal fringe (fig. 194), but I have seen boys, not fully grown, with long hair, hanging loose down (fig. 195). In former days all the men had long hair, which they gathered on the top of the head, where it was secured with a frontlet, a custom not yet quite discarded in some out-of-the-way parts of the country. The women let their hair grow long, give it a centre parting on the top of the head (fig. 190), plait it into tresses and tie it up, or allow it to hang loose. One may sometimes see girls with short hair (fig. 194), but in such cases the hair has been cut short as a sign that its owner has entered upon her first menstruation. On the death of a near relative it is also the custom of the women to cut off their hair.

Fig. 196. Wooden comb. Chiriguano. Bolivia. 1/2. Riksm. 03. 3. 829.

[1] Nordenskiöld (13), fig. 23; von Rosen (1), fig. 84.

[footnote 1 appears on p. 200 — An.]

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

in each of the lower corners of the beam ends, fig. 231. From the illustrations representing the rest of the Old Peruvian balances it cannot be seen in what way the poising and weight cords were fixed. The balances in question have, however, been published in Hamy's grand work, Galerie américaine, and from that work I have therefore endeavoured to gain information concerning this matter. There is only one balance, one without weight cords, that has been given a detailed description, and regarding this, it is stated that the beam, at its centre, has *a vertical perforation* (for the poising cord), and that the lower corners of the beam ends are each pierced with a slanting hole (›les angles inférieurs sont aussi perforés mais obliquement‹).[1] If one or more of the balances reproduced had been of a different construction in this detail, the fact would no doubt have been noted in the text.[2] From what I have adduced above, it therefore follows that the illustrative material, which Nordenskiöld so chivalrously submitted for my criticism of his theory, most essentially enhances the probability of my opinion that the unhandy Old Peruvian weighing apparatus shown in fig. 229, is an improvisation of a whistle which, as I aimed at proving in a separate monograph, belongs to a type of open whistles which is widely distributed over the American continent.[3]

As mentioned, the Chiriguano live in villages, and it is only exceptionally that one comes across isolated huts. Each village is under the authority of a headman, or chief.

Both sexes marry at an early age. Monogamy is the rule, but well-to-do men, and chiefs, may be found who have several wives. When a girl menstruates for the first time, her hair is cut short (fig. 194), and she is kept shut up in a hut until her hair has grown long again, after which she is considered marriageable. When a boy attains to puberty, a hole is made through his lower lip, and a wooden plug is put into the hole. Subsequently this is exchanged for a bead-studded ›tembeta‹ (figs. 194 and 197). Marriages are celebrated by feasting, when large quantities of maize beer are consumed. The women pass through childbirth easily, and therefore do not require many days of nursing after the child has

[1] Hamy (1), p. 110.

[2] At the British Museum there is an ancient Peruvian scale apparently of the same construction as those described by Hamy. Joyce (1) p. 130, fig. 11

[3] von Rosen (8).

8: Schmidt--65 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Izozo

/25 cont./

C
Ce
302

Cutting and Combing the Hair, and Head Adornment

The women wear their hair plaited into long or medium long braids hanging down to their shoulders (113). As can be

113. See Lehmann-Nitsche, op. cit., Plates XI and XII.

seen in Figures 4, 5, and 12 and in the photographs of Chiriguano women published by Lehmann-Nitsche, the hair of the women and girls is always parted over the forehead. The girls always have such a part from childhood. (See Fig. 8 /see p. 28/.) At the time of the first menstruation, the girls' hair is cut short (114), and the women also cut their hair in the

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114. Nord. 1, p. 210. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 201.

event of the death of the husband or one of their close relatives; sometimes they cut it twice when the husband dies (115).

115. Nord. 1, p. 220.

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126

At the nape of the neck, and sometimes also at the top of the head, the hair is tied together with cotton bands. The collection which I brought to the Sociedad Cientifica del Paraguay contains 29 of these bands used by Izozó women, all of which have the same typical form.

Ce
301

Bands for Women's Hair, from the Collection

(I. A. 624-652.) (Izozó.) (I. A. 646 and 641 shown in Fig. 32a and b.)

The length of these bands for the hair, on the average, is 1.04 cm. /sic/. The longest band measures 1.45 meters, and the shortest, 0.65 meters. The average length of the tassels is 14.3 cm. The longest tassel measures 17.5 cm.; the shortest, 9 cm.

/87 cont./

C 881 [302] The girl is nubile when, after the first menstruation, she has undergone a certain ceremony, which lasts until her hair, cut short, has grown out again to medium length. This ceremony of the girls, which is called "yimundia," consists of her being put in a kind of separate room inside the house. Until the following menstruation, she must stay on a diet and she must not eat anything but cooked maize and meal (339). Only in the

C [262]

339. Métraux I, p. 320, note 3.

company of her mother may she temporarily leave the separate room to bathe and to take care of her other needs (340).

340. Nord. 1, p. 210.

C 881 304 We also learn from Nordenskiöld that the Chané boys from 10 to 12 years of age must also undergo certain ceremonies, which consist in having a man who is particularly expert in such matters pierce the lower lip (341) and put a small stick through the hole,

C [413] [237]

341. According to Métraux I, pp. 346 and 347 and Fig. 12, the Chiriguano formerly used for that purpose punches made of horn.

and his grandfather puts deep wounds in his body so that he may be valiant in battle and in hunting and takes him out in the morning, when it is cold, to bathe (342).

342. Nord. 1, p. 211.

C Ce 887 848 Chiriguano and Chané girls are watched over by their mothers /88/ until their marriage (343), and illegitimate children are

343. Nord. 1, p. 179.

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6
Chiriguano SF10

Ci 304 785 761

almost with pride. *Evidently it is thought that the very scars afterwards act as a sort of charm against the spirits.*[1]

If scars left by wounds are considered to possess desirable, magical properties, it would easily be supposed that perforations that have been kept open must possess the same properties in a greatly enhanced degree. Among the Chiriguano, neighbours of the Choroti, the actual piercing of the lower lip constituted the most important of the ceremonial acts performed on the boys on their having attained puberty, and among the Chané — whose culture is akin to that of the Chiriguano — not only was the lower lip pierced on this occasion, but the boys were also given other wounds on the body.[2]

Co 881 304 171

Ci 304 789

From what I have adduced above, it will therefore be seen that, according to the belief of the Indians, *the making of punctures or perforations on the body, has in itself magic effects, and, consequently, that these magic effects are not believed to arise with the fixing of some ornamental object of magical character — e. g., a tembeta, or an ear disc — into the perforation.*

Ci 304 789 562

This being so, here, in my opinion, lies the explanation of the fact that Choroti girls sometimes have pierced ear-lobes, although it has never *with certainty* been shown that they ever wear ear discs. On the other hand, from reasons I shall present below, *it is probable* that old Choroti women, with distended ear-lobes, *exceptionally* do wear ear discs.

I myself, as well as other investigators of the Chaco peoples, have seen elderly women among the Choroti with holes in their ears so large that one was forced to suppose that the lobes had been stretched in some way or other. Such stretching, however, may not *necessarily* be due to the wearing of ear blocks, but *may* have been produced by manual manipulation. That, by such means, perfectly monstrous distension of the soft parts of the body can very well be brought about, is proved by, among other things, the practice of the Hottentot women of lengthening out — merely by frequent pulling — the labia minora into an enormous size.[3] A similar stretching of the hole in the ear-lobe might, from the Indians' point of view, have for its object the increasing, proportionately to its size, the magic properties of the hole. Among the Incas, the size

[1] Karsten (1), p. 133. Italics by von Rosen.
[2] Karsten (1), p. 200.
[3] von Luschan (1), p. 398.